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forces, although here the interaction of the basic personality structure on the cultural institutions has not been worked out satisfactorily. His methodology of culture analysis on the criteria of security systems, sexual controls, points of tension, satisfaction of dependency cravings, social disciplines, fantasy gratification provides possible and feasible 'pegs' for constellations of human behaviour. It also provides a scope for a better understanding of certain universal features of culture, such as dreams and folklore, in a functional way, by establishing their linkage with other cultural constellations.[1] Thus, in this work, many of Kardiner's constructs have been utilized for the explanation of certain aspects of our data, especially in connection with folk and children's tales, dreams, food anxieties, and sexual behaviour.

The field methods used in this study are those of the current anthropological repertory depending mainly on hearing and seeing through participant observation, informants, and asking questions of many adults and children on certain problems and to check data given by informants.[2] For information about children, the Kuttabs and the elementary school were available centres together with a 'children's hour' organized in the writer's house to which children between seven and twelve years old came on three occasions. It was impossible to stimulate adolescent interest in such a gathering, partly because of their economic responsibilities, and partly because of their excessive shyness and reserve, and this perhaps accounts for the thinness of our observations concerning this age group. Intelligence tests, Stewart Emotional Response, Moral Ideology, Story Completion and Rorschach tests, were administered to children, with the exception of the last test which included adults as well.

A preliminary statement about the choice of certain psychological tests is necessary here to indicate the extent of their relevance to our study. The Moral Ideology, the Emotional Response, and the Story Completion tests are intended to reveal some of the norms and the attitudes which children acquire at various stages of development and some of their

as restricting individual impulses for the purposes of social adaptation. See Malinowski, *Freedom and Civilization*, London, 1947, p. 31. Freud has emphasized the inhibitory and restrictive forces of culture (Super-Ego). See his book *Civilization and its Discontents*.

[1] For criticisms of the Kardiner-Linton approach see S. F. Nadel, *Foundations of Social Anthropology*, pp. 403–8; Henry Ozanne, 'Synthesis in Social Sciences', in *Sociometry*, Vol. VIII, 1945, pp. 208–15, where he maintains that Kardiner's interpretations of the primitive cultures studied, though feasible and meaningful, are only possible explanations and are not necessarily ones arising from the material concerned. As a psychologist he, like some anthropologists, objects to the superimposition of psychological categories, conceptualized in terms of the individual, on sociology, which conceptualizes in terms of the group. See also L. M. Hanks in his review of Kardiner, 'The Individual and His Society', *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. XII, 1940, p. 475, where he emphasizes the importance of behaviour and attitudes falling outside the range defined by institutional behaviour.

[2] For an assessment of my informants, see Appendix I. See also Audrey T. Richards, 'The Development of Field Work Methods in Social Anthropology', in *The Study of Society*, ed. by F. C. Bartlett, London, 1939.

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125 reactions and sentiments for different situations. These tests are also expected to draw the attention of the field worker to data which otherwise might escape his notice.

The Projective Test of the Rorschach Ink Blots is growing in popularity as a technique in field work especially amongst those anthropologists who are concerned with the relations between culture and personality. The test is intended to reveal 'the basic organization of the personality structure, including the fundamental affective and cognitive features of mental life'.[1] In spite of many difficulties and limitations in applying such a test, some Rorschach researchers, working with anthropologists, have noted that the principles of the test could be applied with some validity in cross-cultural situations.[2]

Our purpose in administering Intelligence tests was not primarily for inter-group comparisons, but mainly to elicit information regarding the mental 'orientation' characteristic of the group. Three types of tests were selected, verbal (Kabbani's test for primary school children), a paper and pencil test (Porteus Maze), and a practical performance test (Alexander's pass-along). The assumption is that the significant differences in the score of these tests would be considered as different adjustment to different test material and situations. This could be legitimately regarded as reflection of specific qualitative factors of culture, and culturally determined forms of intelligence. In a study of the effects of culture upon children's thoughts and actions, these data are deemed relevant to our purposes.[3]

124 Our methods lack the sociological depth afforded by the gathering of life histories, and intensive case studies of families and individuals supplementing a more diffused and general study of a greater number of individuals. Resistance was expected and encountered in such attempts, even with my informants as shown in Appendix I. Various reasons can be given for such resistance. They were ill at ease at doing things for research, reluctant to engage in an activity which might be considered as dangerous gossip, especially when recorded on paper, and might reach official circles. [156] Their attitude is that personal problems should be 'covered' and not 'exposed' to others. Perhaps their interest was not sufficiently stimulated, for they would ask me, 'And what is the use of all this to us?' It became 123 obvious to me during my field work that in order to get the full co-operation of the people for such research, it was necessary to be able to help them in their everyday problems. One villager expressed this in a candid way: 'You must now be useful to us as we have been helpful to you.' A similar observation has been made by Oscar Lewis, who advocates, on the basis of his experience in Tepoztlan, the combination of research

[1] B. Klopfer and D. Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique*, New York, 1946 edition, p. ix.
[2] Cora du Bois, *The People of Alor*, University of Minnesota Press, 1944, p. 589.
[3] S. Nadel, 'The Application of Intelligence Tests in the Anthropological Field', in *The Study of Society*, pp. 184-97. For a full account of these tests and their application and findings, see Appendices.

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Appendix Eight

THE STEWART EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TEST

SAMPLES OF TEST RESPONSES

● 125 Tests have been recently adopted by some social anthropologists:

1. To provide quick means for collecting useful material in relatively little time.
2. To draw the attention of the field worker to data which otherwise might escape notice.
3. To be used as an objective check on one's own impressions, especially in the field of culture-personality relationship.
4. To provide means of quantitative analysis.

Tests, however, must be interpreted in their cultural context. Leighton and Kluckhohn assert that tests hold considerable promise in anthropological research, but owing to their present state of imperfection, must be used in conjunction with material obtained by the usual anthropological techniques of observation and interview.[1]

1. The Stewart Emotional Response Test

159 125 This test is a series of questions asking for experiences associated with five emotions: happiness, sadness, fear, anger, and shame, one question asking for the best thing that could happen to the child, and another asking for the worst that could happen.[2] After administering the test on twelve children, the responses of the following five children were chosen on the grounds of being the most complete performance. Three boys disclaimed their experience of such emotions, while others gave confused answers.

[156] No girls' responses are recorded here. I found them most frustrating in this respect, except in the Rorschach ink-blots. Young girls were 'giggly'; older ones were shy and [illegible]easy. Their way out was 'I don't know; I am not a man'. They prob[illegible]y refused to co-operate because the tests were first administered on the boys from whom they heard about them. After

[1] D. Leighton and C. Kluckhohn, *Children of the People*, p. 227.
[2] Ibid., p. 247.

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trying this test on five girls, and the Moral Ideology test on two other girls, I had to give up trying any more. It certainly requires more time and patience than I could then afford to elicit responses from girls. These verbal tests must have seemed to them fruitless and pointless.

For happiness

A. *A boy of seven years:*
1. When we celebrated the feast, we played and went to visit the 'Sahabi'.
2. When I go out to play without taking my younger brother with me.
3. Nothing.

B. *A boy of nine years:*
1. When my maternal uncle returns from Alexandria.
2. When my grandfather comes from Port Fouad where he works at present. He has been away for a long time; we want him at home.
3. When my brother was circumcised.

C. *A boy of twelve years:*
1. When his father sent him to the Kuttab.
2. When he eats meat with 'Sakhini' and 'Gras' (sing. 'Gurs'). ('Sakhini' are onions cooked in oil, and 'Gras' are wheat loaves.)
3. When the feast comes, there is no work for him and he does not go to school.

D. *A boy of fourteen years:*
1. When they circumcised his brother and paraded around the village in a ceremony.
2. When he went to the Kuttab.
3. When the harvest time comes (time of plenty) and when 'the "baraka" of God' is in the house.

E. *A boy of fifteen years:*
1. When he went to Cairo, and saw the palaces,[1] cars and the Zoo.
2. When his father wanted to examine him in the Koran, threatening to punish him if he found that he did not know it well, but he was all right, so he was happy.
3. When his father bought him a new garment and a pair of sandals.

For sadness, fear, anger and shame

A. *A boy of seven years:*
1. I was sad when my grandmother died.
2. I shall be sad if my father dies.
3. I become angry when my parents beat me.
4. When other boys strike me I become angry, so I fight them.

[1] Modern houses of the city are usually referred to by the villagers as 'palaces'.

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Appendix Nine

MORAL IDEOLOGY TEST

BAVELAS MORAL IDEOLOGY TEST

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THIS test is designed to ascertain the public official moral ideas of the group. The child is asked for three things that would be considered good for him or for a boy of his age to do; and for the same number of things that would be considered bad to do. The individual responses are taken to indicate not just how the child acts in a given situation, but how he thinks people in general want him to act.[1]

The first part of the test was elicited in this way: 'What could you or a boy of your age do that would be a good thing for which father, the family or the people would praise you? Mention three things.'[2]

A. *Age Nine:*
   1. Go on errands for my parents, buying tea and sugar for mother and cigarettes for father.
   2. Memorize my assignment of the Koran.
   3. I don't know anything else.

B. *Age ten:*
   1. To take the cow to the farm and feed it.
   2. What else? There is nothing more pleasing to father than this.
   3. To lead the blind on the way.

C. *Age thirteen:*
   1. To go straight without making trouble with other boys.
   2. To fetch water home.
   3. Attend to the animals in the field and at home.

D. *Age thirteen:*
   1. To attend to his work.
   2. Not to beat younger children.
   3. To keep quiet and not play, as such conduct pleases his father.

[1] Alex Bavelas, 'A Method for Investigating Individual and Group Ideology', in *Sociometry*, Vol. V, 1942.

[2] The five boys tested here are not the same boys tested previously.

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Appendix Ten

STORY COMPLETION TEST

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THE story completion test, composed of nine stories, is based on the pattern of stories devised by Pintner for the assessment of various aspects of the child's personality, e.g. attitude towards authority, moral tendencies, interests, wishful thinking, fears and anxieties.[1] Such aspects of the personality are not only important from the psychological, but also from the sociological viewpoint. The writer considers the use of such tests as relevant material for this study. Some of Pintner's stories were adapted, two were omitted, and story 5 was added. The test was administered in the following way. Every boy was told, 'I am going to start a story, and I want you to complete it in whatever way you like'. The boys were encouraged and occasional prompting was necessary on some points.

The following are the stories:

1. Once there was a boy sitting outside the house. He was not playing with other boys, but was staying all alone by himself. . . . (Why?)[2]
2. One day the parents of this boy got angry with him. . . . (What was it about? What happened? How did it end?)
3. The boy went to fetch water from the Nile on donkey-back. But on the way the water-jars were broken. . . . (What happened afterwards? Who punished him?)
4. In the street the boy was fighting with another boy. A man passed. . . . (What happened then?)
5. The boy saw his younger brother playing with a ball. . . . (What did he do?)
6. This boy had a friend he liked very much. One day he said to him: 'You come with me, and I'll show you something, but you mustn't tell anyone because it's a secret.' . . . (What did he show him? What did they do?)

[1] R. Pintner, 'Four Retests of a Personality Inventory', in *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. XXIX, 1938. These tests were pointed out to the writer by Dr. Ramzy of the Institute of Education, Cairo, who used them in his thesis 'An Experiment in Assessing Personality', London, 1948 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

[2] The bracketed questions are examples of the promptings.

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7. It was night. The boy was sleeping, and suddenly he woke up screaming. . . . (What made him wake up? What was the matter?) 159
8. One night the boy dreamt he saw the angels during his sleep. They asked him to pray for something he wanted. . . . (What did he pray for?)
9. This boy is growing up. He likes to be a man. . . . (What would he like to do?)

The story completion test was given to seven boys and five of them gave [125] the following satisfactory completions:

A. *Age nine:*
1. He does not play with the other boys because they are older than he is, and he is waiting for a boy of his age to match him in the game.
2. His parents were angry because he returned late after being sent on an errand, and rebuked him for talking to other children on the way.
3. When he breaks the water-jars his mother beats him and deprives him of food.
4. The man beats the two boys who were quarrelling, tells their fathers about this, the fathers will beat their sons.
5. He would not let his younger brother play with the ball, and immediately he sees him playing, he would send him on an errand.
6. I don't know what he said to the other boy.
7. He cried, 'Oh! Father.' He imagined a wolf or a ghost or thieves breaking into the house. He feared the dark and said, 'In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful'.
8. He prayed for a good garment and a fez.
9. I don't know.

B. *Age nine:*
1. The boy does not play with the other boys because they usually strike him; they do not speak to him, nor does he speak to them or sit near them. But later on he finds another boy with whom he is on good terms and plays with him.
2. The parents got angry with the son, and hence did not feed him. This was because the boy did not obey his parents' commands, and such disobedience would bring God's anger. The boy had to go to some relatives to get food, but when his parents did not find any boy to run an errand for them, they brought him back to the house, and fed him, and thus they were reconciled.
3. When the boy broke the water-jars he went weeping to his mother, who asked him how this happened. The mother became angry and struck him for his negligence.
4. When the man saw those boys quarrelling, he separated them,

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Appendix Twelve

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS OF INTELLIGENCE TESTING

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THREE intelligence tests were carried out on the elementary school children in the village. They were: 1. Kabbani Primary School Intelligence Test; 2. Porteus Maze Test; 3. Alexander Pass-along Test. These tests were chosen from those available at the Institute of Education, Cairo, as representing different types of test material.[1] The first test is a verbal one, the other two are of the 'performance test' type, one being paper and pencil, while the other is practical manipulation of blocks of wood. The purpose is to test the children's ability to deal with ideas and symbols as well as their handling of concrete material and solving a practical problem.[2]

The Kabbani test, based on the Ballard Intelligence test, has been standardized on primary school children in Cairo.[3] As the test involves reading and writing it had to be confined to those boys and girls who had sufficiently mastered these skills, and this meant that it could be administered only to the children of the third grade, numbering thirty-one boys and girls.

The Porteus Maze was given to practically all the school children—127 boys and girls. Burt's modifications in administering the test were followed.[4] Only two minor changes were made: the first was that the plan of the maze was explained to the boys and girls as 'paths in a field' instead of 'paths in a garden'; and the second was that the child was asked to enter the field from the right side of the paper instead of the left, as this is more in keeping with the way of writing the Arabic script.

The Pass-along test is composed of pushing cubes of coloured wood on a board to match them with a similar pattern presented on a card. It was

[1] See Introduction.
[2] For the advisability of using a combination of verbal and performance tests see Drever and Collins, *Performance Tests of Intelligence*, Edinburgh, 1946, p. 12.
[3] I. al-Kabbani, *Primary School Intelligence Test*, Cairo, 1939 (Arabic).
[4] Cyril Burt, *Handbook of Tests*, London, 1948, pp. 98–9.

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APPENDIX XII

administered only to eighty-five boys and girls chosen from each of the three grades in alphabetical order, as the administering of this test takes a relatively longer time. 125

The following table represents the frequency distribution of the intelligent quotient of the thirty-one boys and girls according to their scores in the Kabbani test. 153

I.Q.	*Frequency*		
	boys	girls	total
30–39	2	4	6
40–49	1	1	2
50–59	6	3	9
60–69	3	4	7
70–79	2	4	6
80–89	1	0	1

The frequency distributions for the Porteus Maze and for the Pass-along tests are:

PORTEUS MAZE

I.Q.	*Frequency*		
	boys	girls	total
30–39	1	0	1
40–49	0	0	0
50–59	3	6	9
60–69	10	19	29
70–79	14	21	35
80–89	16	12	28
90–99	7	2	9
100–109	10	1	11
110–119	1	2	3
120–129	1	0	1
130–139	1	0	1

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Appendix Thirteen

REMARKS ON THE RORSCHACH TESTING

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THE Rorschach ink-blots test was administered to male adults, and to some of the school boys and girls, twenty subjects from each group. The test was administered at the writer's home, always after a friendly chat with the subject. With the first few tests on the school children, it was found that the children attempted to give responses in 'classical Arabic', but this difficulty was soon got over when the children were told that the task had nothing to do with the school. The original idea was to give these records to a Rorschach expert in Egypt, but unfortunately he was prevented by illness from undertaking the task of interpretation. Consequently, the writer took a three-term course on the technique at the Tavistock Clinic, Institute of Human Relations. Thus any failure to give a full account of the results of testing can be attributed to his lack of sufficient experience. The method of scoring and interpretation is mainly based on that of Rorschach himself and also that of Mons.[1]

The interpretation of children's records is not attempted here, but the interpretive significance of the adults' records is given.

The first striking fact about the records is that none of the twenty subjects rejected any of the cards during their performance. The average number of responses totalled twenty-five (the average responses for a sufficiently productive person according to the experience of Rorschach experts is twenty to thirty). Thus from the quantity of their responses one is inclined to infer that the members of this group show on the whole a capacity for productivity and persistence. They try to do their best in performing a task, and do not give up easily.

The proportion between 'whole responses—W' and 'detail responses—D and d' is 14 per cent and 86 per cent respectively. This suggests a tendency to view situations in a practical and concrete manner. In other words the members of the group in their intellectual approach are more concerned with realistic situations than with abstract concepts. Moreover, their pronounced interest in minor details (d and Dd) suggests a tendency

[1] B. Klopfer and D. Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique*. W. Mons, *Principles and Practice of the Rorschach Personality Test*, London, 1950.